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hunted, very few animals being tabooed. So far as the author knows, the following animals only were not eaten: Skunk, mink, marten, otter, horse, the weasel, gophers of all kinds, crows (northern ravens?), and eagles.

Bow.—The bow and arrow and traps were used in hunting. The bow is of a very simple type, having ends more or less pointed by rubbing them on stones. In former times the bowstring was made of sinew.

Arrows.—There were five types of arrows, distinguished both by the nature of the arrowhead and by their use: *Ma⁹ p'axe'dera*, bird arrow; *ma'⁹anle p'a'u⁹*, rabbit, or small mammal, arrow; *ma⁹ k'ete'ñk cako'k'ere*, deer and large mammal arrow; *mai⁹ su'ra*, or *mai⁹so'k'ere*, used in battle; and the *ma⁹ p'a'⁹una*, also used in battle. The first two and the last were made entirely of wood, generally hickory, the last being merely a pointed stick. The third and the fourth were the only ones that had separate heads attached. The head of the third was, as the name implies, a turtle claw, and that of the fourth a fragment of flint. The Winnebago have no recollection of ever having made flint arrowheads and claim that those they used were found in the ground (pl. 31).

Traps.—One of the principal traps consisted of a heavy timber supported very slightly by an upright, to which a piece of wood was attached bearing bait at the end. No sooner does the animal—wolf, bear, fox, or raccoon—touch the bait than the heavy timber falls upon his head, killing him instantly. Another trap commonly used for rabbits may be described thus: The head of a post is hollowed out to receive the knob-shaped end of a long pliable piece of wood that fits into it very lightly. To the latter is attached a noose, so arranged that it draws away the knob-shaped head at the slightest touch. The rabbit must put his head into the noose in order to get at the bait; in so doing he invariably moves the lever, which springs back, jerking him into the air and strangling him.

For trapping deer a very ingenious method is used. Taking advantage of the animal's habit of following repeatedly the same trail, the hunter at some point of a deer trail piles across it a mass of brush to a height of about 4 feet. Behind this he plants a pointed stake so that it can not be seen by the animal. On encountering the obstruction the deer leaps over it and is impaled on the stake.

Knowledge of the habits of beavers and otters is utilized in the following way: Many of these animals live along winding creeks, and in proceeding from one place to another, instead of following all the meanderings of the streams, they cut across the land. The Winnebago hunter digs deep holes in these cut-offs and covers them with hay. Into these the animals fall and are unable to get out.

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruri'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.* Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Hoosenee* (Missouri ?), Waxetcera, Iowa, and *Wadpikdelpera*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated. [727]

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 44] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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Names of the principal trees, etc.

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ra'gewk'a'wa, resin-weed.
xa'hje, moss.
wax cutc, cedar (red cedar).
teatca'na, ironwood.
witci, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
ca, round reed used for mats.
hi'ge', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi pana, white cedar.
wage', poplar.
tra' tca'wa, birch.
teagu, walnut.
pa' dja'gu, hickory.
teazu'ke, butternut.
na' ca'nk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
teagge'gu, oak.
mank'a'rak, elm.
hukcigu, hazel.
na' p'a'gu, cherry.
na' ho'cge', box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

Names of the principal vegetables and fruits

teera'hera, a water root.
wokna'gera, root called "awl" root.
hu'a'kboi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa'kxi, root found in lowlands.
na'p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a'tc, plum.
kce' crabapple.
tcena'wa', fruit of a tree similar to crabapple tree.
haze'cutega, raspberry.
hacda'mankera, blackberry.
hadlinank', blueberries.
hacedjek', strawberry.
hap'a'nup'unuxga, gooseberry.
hotconke', cranberry.
k'a'tc hi'cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcē carōle, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a'retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
doke'wehi, prairie turnip.
hu'n'nk, bean.
hu'nank' na'di, climbing bean.
hu'n'nk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma'hi'tc, milkweed.

Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten

192
136
262

wankcenk, dogfish.
djadja'nks'k, mink.
dacu'na'k, otter.
ho wak'a', eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
traxce'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (u'djwoju).
gopher.
horse.

Agriculture.—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their 241
permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages 614
consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, 423
each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership [62]
of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he 241 gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast 527 dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco 782 to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he 787 loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three 262 ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the thrashing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the now cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been thrashed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'xerete*, yellow-stalked; *hiwarakona*, sweet corn; and *warup'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *wahu'*, the corn proper, *wita'ⁿwaⁿs*, and the cob, *woxa'kᵉ*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*wnickᵉ*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried.

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hotcu'ⁿwaⁿdawus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*witcu'ⁿwaⁿ*, Hubbard squash, and *witcu'ⁿwanąk*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned.

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252 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following
262 may be mentioned: *Terra'para*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *wokniykara* and *hu"ink boi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dara*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Na"pa'k'*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *P'ankxi'* and *ma"hi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long
415 racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*woze'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were
[531 always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although
422] realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'a"*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind
415 of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day
[77] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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limb." They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head " you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land." If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy." If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or moose meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[555]

" That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors connected with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body."

[527]

" That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors.

262

" At the death of a clansman an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes unrighteous, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 765 775

" It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that in him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

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If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the example of those men who always hearken to what the women say, who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman." Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat." Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."[3]

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

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[2] He may mean a bardash, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, an insult sufficiently great.

[3] A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. These meet in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—to the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance.

[4] I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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the matter. If, on the other hand, he submitted to whatever punishment the Bear clansmen inflicted on him without resistance and apologized to them, then they would build him a new lodge and supply it with better goods than those which they had been compelled to destroy.

This is the way in which the soldiers act when they are on duty. They never jest and their word is a command. If it is not immediately obeyed, their next move is to punish. For that reason one generally listens to them and their commands. When they are not on duty they are the same as other people. Different members of the tribe are on duty at different times, for the leader changes them about frequently.

If a field of rice is found in some swamp or lake the Bear clan people are informed and they go over and keep watch over it and give every person an equal chance at picking it. If a person sneaks away and takes advantage of the others, the Bear clan people punish him.

The Bear clansmen guard the village almost all the time. When a council is held they guard the council lodge, and when a person is tried for some crime, particularly that of murder, a trial which generally takes place in the Thunderbird clan lodge, then they carefully guard this lodge, lest the prisoner try to escape or his relatives or confederates try to rescue him.

Certain actions and remarks are not permitted in the Bear clan lodge. They are the following:

To peep into the lodge.

To make the remark that they live in a nice lodge.

To sit in the doorway.

To give a deep sigh or snort inside the lodge.

Should any person do one of these forbidden things, the Bear clansmen would be compelled to give the most valued thing in the lodge to the offender.

If a man seduced a woman, he was brought to the lodge of the Bear clan and severely whipped. If the soldier whipped him too severely, he in turn was whipped.

If a murderer was brought to the Bear clan lodge and the chief of the tribe asked that the man be freed, the rest of the tribe would beg the relatives of the murdered man to relent; but if the murderer was turned over to the soldiers, they would take him to the lodge of the murdered man's relatives and let one of them kill him.

According to one informant, the Deer clansmen acted as servants to the Bear clan.

The Bear and the Wolf clans are friends, and although, as we indicated on page 201, each clan is paired off with another, the relationship of the Bear and Wolf clans is particularly intimate. It was even claimed that a Bear clansman would revenge the death of a Wolf clansman. For no other clans did the author hear this statement made. The women are addressed by the men and by each other as "my opposite," referring unquestionably to the positions in the council lodge.

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The Wolf Clan

INTRODUCTION

614 173 Three versions of the origin myth of this clan were obtained. The second is the most interesting, for it gives the popular account of descent from the clan animal-ancestor, although it claims that he, in turn, was created by Earthmaker. One other important characteristic is the statement that the original clan ancestor married a human being and that from them the present members of the clan trace their descent. A similar type of descent is mentioned in a number of myths that can best be interpreted as village origin myths. The ownership of war bundles has also at times been linked up with descent from some spirit.

614 Very little is known at the present time about the functions of the Wolf clan. It is quite clear, however, that the clan once possessed powers of considerable importance. From the fact that the Wolf people are still occasionally called "minor soldiers" and that they are so closely linked with the Bear clansmen it is likely that their functions were similar in nature to those of the Bear people. They probably assisted the latter.

[823] Water was sacred to the Wolf clan as it also was to the Water-spirit clan. A person was not allowed to tell a Wolf clansman that he looked like a wolf nor allowed to sit on a log in a Wolf clan lodge.

[682] If a man kills a Wolf clansman accidentally and then sits on the log in a Wolf lodge, he has to be freed.

According to one informant, the Wolf clan at one time possessed four sticks, which they would use and with which they kept time while the drum was beaten.

[582] According to one informant, the Wolf clansmen were the only people who were allowed to intermarry.

The Wolf clansmen give a feast when a Bear child is born, to show respect for their friend. They give the child a name of their own clan.

[796] The Wolf feast is held in the spring of the year, when the ice melts from the creeks and everything begins to grow. At the feast the [262 clan origin myth is told and the members of the other clans are 252] allowed to hear it. The food used is boiled rice.

ORIGIN MYTHS

FIRST VERSION (TOLD BY A MEMBER OF THE CLAN)

614 539 776 [823] In the beginning the Wolf clan people came from the water. Therefore their bodies are of water—i. e., their sacred possession is water. There were four male wolves and four female wolves, and as they came up from the sea and swam toward the shore, one after the other, they caused waves to go before them. Therefore one of

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head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own.

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much.

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hak'-ize're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, dog—were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the head it is thought that it will help him greatly.

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

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upon the soul of our friend (the scalp) and you have tried to gain additional life. I also desire life. Our ancestors were equal to the spirits in their power and they asked each other to help one another in obtaining life. I will try to ask for that which you have asked. I greet you all." 727 796

Then all the war-bundle owners in the lodge greeted each other, and the drum was passed around until every one in the lodge had sung. Then they danced the *hok'ize're* dance until early dawn and when the sun was about to appear they took the drum to the post and danced the victory dance until the sun was high in the heavens. Then they went to sleep. All day they slept, and toward evening of the fourth night, when the sun was low, they began the victory dance again. When it was dark they entered the lodge and placed the drum in the center. Then the attendants put dog meat in the kettles. When all was in readiness and all the feasters had entered the lodge the host offered tobacco to the spirits for whom food was being prepared and spoke as follows: [262]

"After we have sung four songs the meal will be ready to be served. The attendants, it is true, have not cooked very much and it will doubtless not be enough for all, but I think that there will be a little portion for every one. When I have finished the four songs, then the donor for whom this ceremony is being given will select the people who are to eat with him. Then the attendants will distribute the portions of meat, in addition to the heads, and then we will all start to eat."

Then all ate. The donor after first eating with his friends ate alone with the scalp. Then some of the men arose and gave thanks. Finally the host rose again and said, "Whatever little it was in my power to do, I tried to do. All have tried to help me. It is really good. I am really unable to say what I wanted, but it is good. As the drum passes around, may it be of some help to every one."

Then the drum is passed to the one who had first counted coup. He sings and then it is passed to the other three who counted coup, who likewise sing. From them it is passed to all the other people in the lodge who have not sung yet. Then all dance the *hok'ize're* dance and toward dawn the drum is taken outside to the post and the victory dance is given. If the donor had lost a child the others now wipe off his tears and tell him not to cry any more; and they make the mourner feel joyful again. When it became (full) daylight they danced the victory dance and walked four times around the pole. Then they went to the grave of the child that had died and danced the victory dance there and stuck the scalp in the ground, for the soul of the child. There it would wither and the father would feel happy. This is the end. [765]

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The Hehucka Dance

535 574 The *Herucka* is a social dance and is frequently given when visitors from other tribes are present, presents being given on this occasion. Men and women take part in it and are generally dressed in their best clothes. A few customs that were noticed at a performance in 1908 might be mentioned here.

If a man drops anything during the dance he himself may not pick it up. Only a warrior who has been wounded has the right to do so. The object dropped is returned to the owner, who, however, must always give it to his sister or niece.

It is at times customary for a man to dress himself in rags and beg for food, etc. He generally represents himself as an extremely poor man and pictures his destitution in a manner best calculated to amuse everyone. [525]

Wagers of horses are very commonly made at this dance.

The dances indulged in are mainly victory dances and the songs known as *Herucka* songs are always victory songs. Many borrowed songs are sung at this dance. [533]

A large drum is always used, around which sometimes as many as 10 drummers sit. The drum consists of an ordinary tub over which skin has been tightly drawn. It is supported by two carved sticks, to which it is firmly attached, so that the bottom is about a foot from the ground. It is painted in the following manner: Two rather narrow lines of paint across the center of the drum, one blue and the other green. The portion of the drum next to the yellow line is painted blue, and that next to the blue line red. No meanings for the colors were obtained. [534] [531]

Watconahe'ŋwe Feast
(afraid-to-eat-greens feast)

241 785 262 Informant, member of Beaver clan: Just about roasting-ear month people would commence to fast and continue until the green corn is ripe enough to be eaten. They fast so that all the plants may strengthen the tribe.

The fast generally takes place in a special lodge, from under which all the grass has been cut, for the faster must not come in contact with anything that is green. When the fasting is over a feast is given at which all those present eat "greens" for the first time.

The Captive's Death Dance

47 535 Before putting a captive to death it is customary to tie his arms behind him in such a manner that his hands have a little freedom. Then they put a gourd in his right hand and a lance in his left hand

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water,
● [262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[1]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[1] J. C.'s account ends here.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[a]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[b]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[c] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[d]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[a] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[b] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554 262]

[c] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his eldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

[d] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [731]

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says:

Speech of sixth guest.—"Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[1] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[2] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[3] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'.

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[4] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star,

[1] In eating the deer head and in the last eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely.

[2] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to.

[3] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people come them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me.

[4] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buck- 776*
skin given to the hand sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins 782
are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earth-
maker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the
lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins,
holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand,
while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then,
to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the
buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain
visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual
invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole
for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened.
Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by
the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom
he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn
for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours
some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the
persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any chil-
dren present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are
always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds,
drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of
songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The
songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, [573]
six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all
the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing
the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in [562]
that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets 796*
of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get 276
as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They
also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and
a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the
various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit
by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial
manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one.
When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed
against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-
giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of
the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand
says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is
really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are [782
used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for 262]
the Disease-giver.

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thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kills-Within-Lodge [776] came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all [262] have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all meat partaken in feasts strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

Then he speaks again:

[776] "It is good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue.

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-